

The Dual Roles of Higher Education Institutions in the Knowledge-Economy

Beverly Barrett

University of St. Thomas, Houston, United States

Email: beverly.barrett@jhu.edu

Abstract

There are dual roles of higher education institutions as recipients of higher education policy and as agents for change in the knowledge economy in their regions and in the world. In the case of academic institutions within the European Union, they are primarily the recipients of policy change influenced by the European level. Secondarily, they are agents of policy change in the knowledge-based economy, which is of increasing importance in the 21st century. This is a new kind of regional integration, influenced by Europeanization and intergovernmentalism in higher education policy, with the ultimate objectives for economic competitiveness and social cohesion attained by recognition of qualifications. The success of the European Commission's study abroad program, Erasmus, is provided as background to the development of the Bologna Process, for which there have been mobility objectives in higher education. The opportunity for greater mobility in international education corresponds with ongoing trends in globalization.

Keywords: Bologna process, Europeanization, higher education institutions, intergovernmentalism, international mobility

The Europe we are building up is not only the one of the euro, of the banks and of the economy; it must be a Europe of knowledge as well. We must strengthen and build upon the intellectual, cultural, social, and technical dimensions of our continent. These have, to a large extent, been shaped by its universities, which continue to play a pivotal role for their development. The Sorbonne Declaration (excerpt), May 25, 1998

Note: The following is an excerpt from the book *Globalization and Change in Higher Education: The Political Economy of Policy Reform in Europe*, Chapter 4, “The Dual Roles of Higher Education Institutions in the Knowledge Economy.” The original article is available from Palgrave Macmillan, [Springer Link](#).

Introduction

In a historical institutional perspective, this chapter presents the policy processes of Europeanization (top-down and state-responsive) and intergovernmentalism (bottom-up and state-driven) and their application to higher education policy. Since the Bologna Process began in 1999, the European Commission is a partner alongside the 48 countries in the European Higher Education Area (EHEA). This chapter presents the dual roles of higher education institutions in the knowledge economy and the objectives for increased mobility in the social dimension of higher education. This EHEA commitment to student mobility objectives through the year 2020 is described within the Bucharest Communiqué (EHEA 2012a). Institutional changes of recent years place higher education policy in the context of the European Commission’s economic growth strategy Europe 2020, which outlines the motivations and benchmarks for a region that is “smart, sustainable, and inclusive” (European Commission 2016b).

The place of higher education institutions in the economy and society has dual roles, contributing to their significance as agents of change. Higher education institutions are both recipients and agents of change in the political economy context. Initially, the Bologna Process and Europe 2020 objectives highlight that higher education institutions are intended to be recipients of change in the policy process. Ultimately, higher education institutions are intended by stakeholders (academic, public, private) to bring about change through increased knowledge of graduates leading to enhanced competitiveness in the global economy. Sociological and historical institutional perspectives frame the analysis of Europeanization (Schmidt 2005; 2009b) and intergovernmentalism (Pierson 1996; Moravcsik 1998).

The EHEA is placing more emphasis on making higher education institutions agents of change. This is aligned with the intentions of the Europe 2020 economic growth strategy of the European Commission, which was launched in 2010. The communiqués of the EHEA ministers at Bologna

Process conferences state that the following are intended policy outcomes of higher education institutions as agents of change (Bologna Process Secretariat 2016):

- Increased social cohesion nationally and regionally together with economic growth
- Increased social mobility and opportunities for employability within the country
- Increased opportunities for academic and professional mobility internationally

A primary challenge in Social Sciences research is attributing these economic and social outcomes to higher education policy reform. The outcomes may come from fiscal policies or monetary policies that incentivize economic growth, or other variables that are not identified in the research. A second challenge is the relatively long time -- years, decades, or generations -- that it takes to see effects of higher education policy reform. Because states and markets fall short in providing productive-use systems over the long term, communities depend on institutions (Ostrom 1990:1). The policies of higher education are a hybrid of state and market interests, reflecting neither the state nor the market alone in their governance (Dobbins and Knill 2009, 2014).

A new kind of regional integration through higher education

The coordination of higher education policy in the EHEA aligns with the economic growth strategy of Europe 2020 for the 28 EU Member States. The headline target of the strategy for higher education is the attainment by 40 percent of graduates, 30-34 years-old. In turn, they will be equipped to contribute knowledge in the socioeconomic dimension within the region and globally. The Strategic Framework for Education and Training outlines the priorities of the European Commission (European Commission 2016c). These strategies provide an informative context for the 20 additional countries in the Bologna Process that are not in the EU. The emphasis on higher education attainment serves as a proxy for a wider range of measures (Tyson 2016).

These wider ranges of measures include:

- Secondary school preparation
- Higher education access requirements
- Nontraditional routes to higher education for first-generation students
- The appeal of the curricula and degree requirements for higher education

The Bologna Process is a response of internationalization to the pressures of globalization and, with it, comes changing conceptions of the modern university (European Commission 2011; Eurydice 2012). The idea behind the Bologna Process drives a new kind of regional integration, supported by discourse and a vision that is socially constructed as it unfolds (Christiansen 2001; Nokkola 2007). The motto of the European Union, “unity

in diversity,” is especially true for the regional integration of higher education policy. Over history, regional integration in higher education was pursued by policy entrepreneurs shaping the historical institutions of the EU. The entrepreneurs included their policy priorities along with broader initiatives in regional integration (Corbett 2005; Dinan 2014).

An important, increasingly supported initiative for European education has been the Erasmus international student exchange, established in 1987 by the European Commission. The success of Erasmus gave momentum to the 1998 Sorbonne Declaration -- formulated by the education ministers of Italy, France, Germany, and the United Kingdom -- which paved the way for the Bologna Process that created the EHEA (Neave 2003a:33, 2003b). Erasmus was initially proposed in 1986 and ultimately adopted in 1987 by the European Commission as the European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students (Erasmus). Over three decades, the initiative has evolved into Erasmus Mundus and, later, Erasmus+ Plus, to include students and exchanges beyond Europe. The mobility of students in Erasmus, for semester or year abroad study, paved the way for harmonization of higher education degrees across countries.

Erasmus demonstrated the need for a single system of transferable credits (ECTS), for rules on the recognition of qualifications (Lisbon Convention), and for quality assurance to be underpinned by common principles (the European Standards and Guidelines) as a basis of trust between higher education systems (Tyson 2012).

Beyond the Bologna Process and Erasmus, there are regional programs for higher education, lifelong learning, vocational training, and ongoing student exchanges in Europe. Additional educational programs of the EU include those for Vocational and Education Training (VET) such as Grundtvig and Leonardo, those for languages such as Lingua and Socrates, and those for young students such as IRIS and Petra.⁵ The education policy initiatives of the European Communities include the COMMunity programme for Education and Training in Technology (COMETT) and Erasmus.

Globalization and internationalization have been shaping Europe, and the commitment to higher education reform is an outcome resulting from these pressures in recent years. As countries have joined the EU and the EHEA they have brought distinct traditions and values that affect their views of higher education. The EU is “becoming” rather than “being” (Moravcsik 2005:350), and this applies to the region beyond the 28 Member States. The agenda and space of the EHEA have been socially constructed through discourse (Nokkola 2007:221), and they are complementary to the

⁵ Comett and Grundtvig are vocational adult education programs. Leonardo da Vinci is European Community vocational training and lifelong learning. Lingua and Socrates are language training programs. IRIS is Improvement through Research in the Inclusive School. Petra is European Community vocational training of young people in preparation for adult and working life.

construction of the European economic agenda and space (Rosamond 2002). Sociological institutionalism explains that regional scripts of appropriate behavior are acted out as norms that become established in these public spaces (Risse 2007).

This emphasis on the European social model reflects a policy concern with developing human capital (or ‘intangible assets’) as the basis of European competitiveness. It also reflects a recent tendency within EU policy circles to make claims about those elements of a European model that should remain robust in the face of globalisation (Rosamond 2002:171).

Tracing the development of educational policy through a historical analysis of regional integration explains how the region arrived at international cooperation in the higher education dimension, which has synergistically advanced regional integration in Europe. Regional integration since the start of the European project considers the three central dynamics that are explanatory factors throughout this book: competitive economic pressures through globalization, domestic politics through intergovernmentalism, and sociological and ideational processes stemming from the EU and European institutions through Europeanization. Considering globalization, advanced in communications and technology bring speed to most elements of daily life and bring additional pressure to governmental priorities. Because of intergovernmentalism, countries coordinate domestic policies through intergovernmental bargaining. Because of Europeanization, European level leadership influences the national level of policy implementation through legislative procedures (Schmidt 2002, 2009b). National cooperation generated by intergovernmentalism and social norm diffusion resulting from Europeanization are dynamics that have driven the policy process in higher education reform. The complementary influences of intergovernmentalism and Europeanization have effected policy reform to varying extents within each country.

The traditions in the relationship of the state to the governance of higher education vary across the region of Europe (Dobbins and Knill 2009, 2014; Heyneman 2009, 2010). The Bologna Process countries inside and outside the EU are influenced by the higher education governance of states in their geographic proximity (Scott 2002). There are traditions in higher education corresponding to various social models particular to regions, such as Anglo-Saxon, Continental, Mediterranean, Central and Eastern European, and Scandinavian. The institutional nature of the EU itself is challenged by the results of enlargement, immigration, nationalism, and security, among other concerns that have arisen since the process of integration, began after World War II. Through each stage of EU enlargement, Member States that joined the European Community brought along higher education traditions. The policy entrepreneurs influenced the higher education traditions and created the social constructs upon which institutions that implement policies

were built (Hall and Taylor 1996:951). Broader economic and governance policies unfolded in the region through treaties that impacted countries and their higher education institutions.

Europeanization and intergovernmentalism In higher education policy

Historical institutionalism frames the policy relationships across levels of governance that make evident both intergovernmentalism and Europeanization in the Bologna Process. Although they are unique phenomena moving in different directions, they both influence the progress toward reforms at the institutional and national levels. To distinguish between intergovernmentalism and Europeanization: Europeanization is the overall regional influence of Europe acting on national and institutional levels (Schmidt 2009); intergovernmentalism is led by the states to make policy at the European level (Moravcsik 1998, 2005). The internationalization of higher education through Europeanization is part of the process of building the EHEA (Bache 2006; Batory and Lindstrom 2011). Scholars describe Europeanization as a top-down effect from the EU on the Member States that affects national institutional structures and national policy-making processes (Schmidt 2009:204-206). While Europeanization is distinct from European integration, they influence each other in a dynamic relationship (Schmidt 2009:211; 2005). European integration in the context of intergovernmentalism is Member State-driven. Europeanization operates at the supranational level that influences the national level.

Depending on national circumstances, intergovernmentalism or Europeanization may be a stronger policy process. The higher education institution stakeholders or constituencies are important influences. The academic institutions, the state in the public sector, and the market in the private sector are the key stakeholders in modern European universities (Regini 2011). The theory of liberal intergovernmentalism put forward by Moravcsik claims that the states have led the initiative for international cooperation (1998). An analysis of policy implementation across levels of governance emphasizes the importance of the national level due to the "domestic nature of Bologna reforms" (Veiga 2012:389). Within social and economic policy spaces, Europeanization has been taking place at the national level, which in turn influences the institutional level. "The point is that the examination of Europeanization effects (positive integration, negative integration, and 'framing' integration) linked to the implementation of a single policy framework (Bologna Process and Lisbon Strategy) deals with a policy area where European policies require incremental changes in national frameworks" (Veiga and Amaral 2006:293).

The Europeanization top-down influence of the Bologna Process, in which the direction of agency proceeds from the greater region to the state, is explained for Portugal and Spain. These countries incorporated European standards alongside their domestic reforms that had taken place before the

start of the Bologna Process. In Portugal, the policy processes incorporated the principles from the domestic University Autonomy Act (1998) with subsequent domestic laws on higher education policy. In Spain, European principles were incorporated into the domestic *LOU: Ley de Ordenación Universitaria* (2001) and the amended *LOMLOU* Spanish Law of Universities (2007).

The dynamics of intergovernmentalism work in a contrary direction where agency proceeds from the state to the greater regional initiative. Both directions of influence, Europeanization and intergovernmentalism, are complementary dynamics in regional integration and coexist, albeit with some imbalance, in each national circumstance.

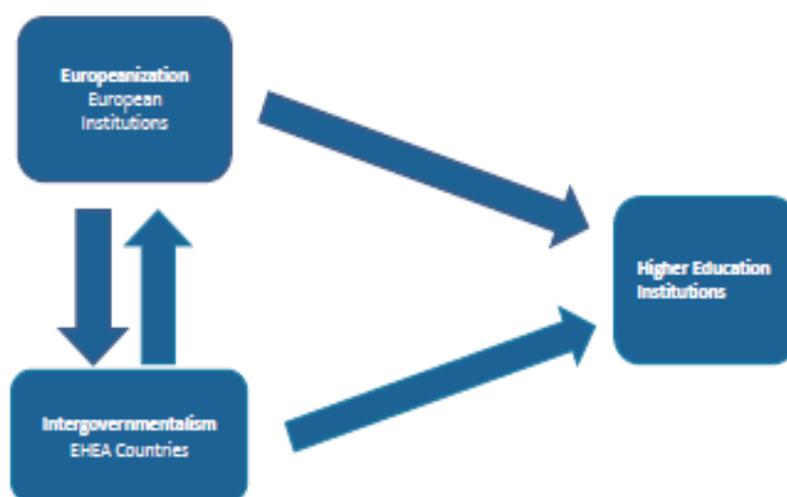


Figure 1. Reciprocity between the Influences of Europeanization and the Influences of Intergovernmentalism: Higher Education Institutions' Role as Recipients of Change. Europeanization from institutions influences EHEA participating countries and higher education institutions. Intergovernmental from EHEA countries influences the European level policy and higher education institutions.

Europeanization does not take place consistently across countries in Europe (Bulmer and Radaelli, 2004). The Bologna Process is a soft power policy, and there are not political ramifications for noncompliance other than reputational effects. The Open Method of Coordination (OMC) that emerged from the Lisbon Strategy in 2000 is a mechanism to deliver this policy cooperation in higher education. Challenges exist in implementation because an enforcement mechanism is lacking. Soft policies such as the EHEA, ERA, Lisbon Strategy, and Europe 2020 have weaknesses in policy coordination since there is no governance enforcement (Amaral 2011). Alberto Amaral, founding director of the Portuguese national accreditation agency, concludes that:

Building a strong Europe will probably need stronger mechanisms for coordinating policy implementation and an

agreement of member states on clear objectives for those policies. Eventually, policy implementation will become more coordinated, not only at the level of national interpretation but also at the pace of implementation.

Whatever the future, the present turmoil resulting from the economic crisis will result in significant changes in European policy implementation (Amaral 2011:47).

Intergovernmentalism explains the expansion of national cooperation in the regional policy domain of higher education in Europe (Neave and Maassen 2007). The origins of explanations for this international cooperation relates to neofunctionalist principles, which explained the first efforts toward regional integration in the mid-20th century. When the Treaty of Rome came into effect in 1958, Ernst Haas completed the neofunctionalist treatise *The Uniting of Europe*. The two principles that Haas contributed to neofunctionalism remain relevant to why countries pursue intergovernmental policy in recent years:

1. Integration progresses when organized economic interests pressure governments to manage economic interdependence to their advantage by centralizing policies and institutions.
2. Initial decisions to integrate economically create economic and political spillovers— unintended or unwanted consequences of earlier decisions – which are the major force propelling regional integration further forward (Moravcsik, 2005:351-352).

The spillovers that resulted from integration in functional areas continued to expand through the decades until reaching the policy domain of higher education. The active role of the state in intergovernmental policy cooperation shows:

Major steps toward regional integration results, as does global economic integration, from a three-step process: (a) national preferences develop in response to exogenous changes in the nature of issue-specific functional interdependence; (b) interstate negotiation proceeds on the basis of relative bargaining power; and (c) delegation to supranational institutions is designed to facilitate credible commitments (Moravcsik 2005:358).

These three steps explain the response of European national governments and higher education institutions to the exogenous influence of globalization and the continued negotiations to define the steps forward.

After having agreed to a “grand bargain” at the international negotiating table, policies are changed at the national level when it comes to implementation. To understand the political and economic influences on policy implementation and international coordination, it is necessary to consider the explanatory power of political institutions and the potential for

compromise. Political institutions may shape outcomes by providing or withholding resources and by representing political parties that convey values and a policy agenda (March and Olsen 1989). Institutions are here defined on multiple levels of governance: the supranational level of the EU, the national level of the state, and the sub-national level of the higher education institution. Through an institutional approach, one identifies the underlying processes and mechanisms that contribute to institutional change. However, scholars attest that there remain many unexplained factors to investigate in explaining institutional change (Olsen 2009:27).

Institutional arrangements are usually a product of situation-specific compromises. They fit more or less into a coherent order, and they function through a mix of co-existing organizational and normative principles, behavioral logics, and legitimate resources (Olsen 2009:18).

Given the Member States’ proactive position in intergovernmental theory, the state's influence in an upward governance direction toward the supranational level of European initiatives. The European political entities, such as the Council of Europe and the European Commission, influence the higher education institutions (Bach 2006:236; Keeling 2006). The influences of Europeanization, and those at the national level of participating countries in the Bologna Process, influence, in turn, the higher education institutions’ governance. Institutions experience dual pressures from both supranational and national levels. Figure 3.1 shows the path of the agency from the Member States to the European institutions and the higher education institutions. Figure 3.2 shows the role of higher education institutions as agents of change in the region as they build European economic competitiveness.

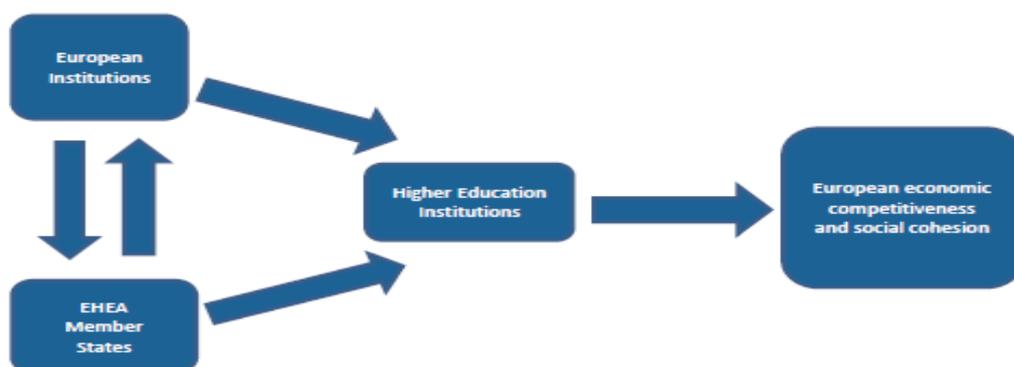


Figure 2. Higher Education Institutions’ Role as Agents of Change. Following the influence of European institutions and EHEA participating countries on higher education institutions, the institutions influence European economic competitiveness and social cohesion. HEIs are recipients and agents of institutional change.

International mobility in higher education

Around the world, the internationalization of higher education has become a 21st century objective for increasing numbers of higher education institutions (Martens et al. 2014; Spring 2009). There is growing interest in the internationalization of curriculum and the mobility of students, which provides a complement for mobility of labor in the EU common market.⁶

In fact, every substantial policy document of the Bologna Process explicitly emphasizes student mobility as both a means to establish the EHEA as well as an indicator to measure its success in terms of competitiveness and compatibility. As a central policy outcome, the trajectory of student mobility can thus be viewed as a benchmark against which to measure the success of Bologna reforms (Fulge and Vögtle (2014:68).

Student mobility as a goal in the Bologna Process was emphasized at the EHEA Bucharest Ministerial Conference in April 2012 (EHEA 2012b). Their mobility strategy presented that set the objective for 20 percent of students to spend a period of study abroad by the year 2020.⁷ Higher education institutions are agents of mobility by providing opportunities for students and researchers to study and to work beyond their home country. There are administrative barriers such as quotas limiting enrollment and higher tuition costs for international students; however, the mobility of students and the international recognition of academic credits and degrees are expected to enhance educational quality, student learning outcomes, and economic development (EHEA 2012a, 2012b). The discourse in the Bologna Process and the EHEA proclamations reveals that mobility is a value. The importance of mobility is specified by the Bologna Declaration (1999) and the Prague Communiqué (2001):

Promotion of *mobility* by overcoming obstacles to the effective exercise of free movement with particular attention to:

- for students, access to study and training opportunities and related services
- for teachers, researchers, and administrative staff, recognition, and valorisation of periods spent in a European context researching, teaching, and training, without prejudicing their statutory rights. (Bologna Declaration, 1999)

Ministers are affirmed that efforts to promote *mobility* must be continued to enable students, teachers, researchers, and

⁶ Beginning in 2017 the United Kingdom will negotiate its ability to access the European Single Market as part of the process of the British exit from the EU (Brexit).

⁷ European Higher Education Area Ministerial Conference. 2012. "Mobility for Better Learning: Mobility Strategy 2020 for the European Higher Education Area (EHEA)."

administrative staff to benefit from the richness of the European Higher Education Area, including its democratic values, diversity of cultures and languages and the diversity of higher educational systems. (Prague Communiqué, 2001)

Diversity of educational experiences through an international study period is highly desirable in today's global society in order to develop adaptability to, and understanding of foreign cultures (Spring 2009). The inherent influence of globalization is pressure for internationalization of higher education that encourages students to spend at least some of their educational experience beyond their home country in order to cultivate an international perspective through living abroad. This diverse academic experience is expected to provide greater preparedness for graduates when looking for employment in the global knowledge economy. Personal knowledge of various countries and their cultures and traditions is an important strength for students seeking employment in the knowledge economy (Martens et al. 2014).

The Erasmus exchange program has provided students with a period of study abroad since 1987. The Marie Curie Action programs, which began in 1996, support the mobility of researchers. These programs make Europe an attractive place to study and to research. There is competition within Europe and internationally for locations to study and to research. Beyond the region of Europe, China and India have been increasing their students' enrollments in the higher education systems of the U.S. and the EU. The growing student and researcher diaspora of Chinese and Indians provides new networks of information sharing and transmits knowledge through informal channels of policy diffusion. A joint report of the Migration Policy Institute and the European University Institute compared mobility challenges and opportunities for the EU and the U.S. (Fargues et al. 2011). These two regions, among the most economically advanced in the world, together receive the majority of the world's migrants who seek relocation for education and employment opportunities.

The limited availability of funding at the individual, national, and regional levels is a barrier to educational mobility. The European Commission is committed to the mobility of education and to providing funds through the flagship higher education program Erasmus. The European Commission-funded study abroad scheme has been among the most lauded policy programs, providing for limited periods of study abroad for a semester or an academic year. There was a debate during the second half of 2012 over the appropriate level of Erasmus funding for the EU Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF) 2014–2020 (European Commission 2012h). In the EU's MFF 2014–2020, the early announcement of the initiative Erasmus+ Plus was one of the only programs to have received an expansion and a budget increase. At the end of 2013, then-director General for Education and Culture, *Androulla Vassiliou*, announced Erasmus+ Plus, a program to include

countries beyond the EU in the educational exchange beginning in 2014.⁸ The number of Erasmus students per year has increased from 3,264 in the initial academic year 1987–1988 to more than 250,000 in the academic year 2011–2012. There was steady progress toward the 3-million-student mobility target, which was reached in July 2013 (European Commission 2013d). Other regions of the world have simulated higher education mobility programs from the EHEA and Erasmus, and outcomes thus far provide lessons for understanding successes and challenges.

The dual role of higher education institutions as recipients and as agents of change makes them important as subjects of analysis in political economy and policy reform. Europe's recent history of regional integration and international collaboration in higher education have contributed to the role that the region plays in the world and to the conception of global governance of knowledge. The emphasis on higher education attainment reflects a recognition of 21st-century society and economy, increasing the importance of knowledge and human mobility. This may be attributed to the growing reliance on technology and the prominence of the services sectors, which often require advanced skills through education. Recognizing the distinctions between attainment and quality, an assessment of the political economy factors that influence higher education attainment is presented in the following chapter.

References

- Amaral, A. (2011). ERA and the Bologna Process: Implementation problems and the human resource factor. In S. Avveduto (Ed.), *Convergence or differentiation. Human resources for research in a changing European scenario* (pp. 13–54). Naples: ScriptaWeb.
- Bache, I. (2006). The Europeanization of higher education: Markets, politics or learning? *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44(2), 231–248.
- Batory, A., & Lindstrom, N. (2011, April). The power of the purse: Supranational entrepreneurship, financial incentives, and European higher education policy. *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions*, 24(2), 311–329.
- Bologna Process. (1999). The Bologna Declaration of 19 June 1999: Joint declaration of the European Ministers of Education.
- Bologna Process. (2001). The Prague Communiqué of 19 May 2001: Towards the European Higher Education Area. Communiqué of the meeting of European Ministers in charge of Higher Education.
- Bologna Process Secretariat. (2016). European higher education area. <http://www.ehea.info/#>.

⁸ European Commission. 2013b. “Erasmus+ is the new EU programme for education, training, youth and sport for 2014-2020, starting in January 2014.” Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/education/erasmus-plus/index_en.htm

- Bulmer, S. J., & Radaelli, C. M. (2004). *The Europeanisation of National Policy?* Queen's University Belfast Papers on Europeanisation. No. 1/2004.
- Christiansen, T. J., et al. (2001). *Social construction of Europe*. London: SAGE.
- Corbett, A. (2005). *Universities and the Europe of knowledge: Ideas, institutions and policy entrepreneurship in European Union higher education 1955–2005*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dinan, D. (2014). *Origins and evolution of the European Union* (2nd ed.). The New European Union Series. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dobbins, M., & Knill, C. (2009). Higher education policies in central and Eastern Europe: Convergence toward a common model? *Governance: An International Journal of Policy Administration, and Institutions*, 22(3), 397–430.
- Dobbins, M., & Knill, C. (2014). *Higher education governance and policy change in Western Europe*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- EHEA Ministerial Conference. (2012a). Bucharest Communiqué: Making the most of our potential: Consolidating the European Higher Education Area.
- EHEA Ministerial Conference. (2012b). Mobility for better learning: Mobility strategy 2020 for the European Higher Education Area (EHEA).
- European Commission. (2011, September 20). Supporting growth and jobs—an agenda for the modernisation of Europe's higher education systems. Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. COM 2011 (567) Final.
- European Commission. (2012). The EU averts funding crisis for Erasmus. Press Release. December 12,
- European Commission. (2013a). Erasmus+ is the new EU programme for education, training, youth and sport for 2014–2020, starting in January 2014. http://ec.europa.eu/education/erasmus-plus/index_en.htm.
- European Commission. (2013b). Memo: Erasmus Programme in 2011–2012: The Figures Explained. July 8, 2013.
- European Commission. (2016a). European Commission: Europe 2020. http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/index_en.htm.
- European Commission. (2016b). Strategic Framework—Education & Training. http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/strategic-framework_en.
- Eurydice: Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency. (2012). The European Higher Education Area in 2012: Bologna Process Implementation Report.
- Fargues, P., Papademetriou, D. G., Salinari, G., & Sumption, M. (2011). Shared challenges and opportunities for EU and US immigration policymakers. European University Institute and Migration Policy Institute Report.
- Fulge, T., & Vögtle, E. M. (2014). Sweeping change—but does it matter? The Bologna Process and determinants of student mobility. In K. Martens, P. Knodel, & M. Windzio (Eds.), *Internationalization of education policy: A new constellation of statehood in education?*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hall, P. A., & Taylor, R. C. R. (1996). Political science and the three new institutionalisms. *Political Studies*, XLIV, 936–957.
- Heyneman, S. P. (2009). What is appropriate role for government in education? *Journal of Higher Education Policy*, 3, 135–157.

- Heyneman, S. P. (2010). A comment on the changes in higher education in the post-Soviet Union. *European Education*, 42(1), 76–87.
- Keeling, R. (2006). The Bologna Process and the Lisbon research agenda: The European commission's expanding role in higher education discourse. *European Journal of Education*, 41(2), 203–223.
- March, J. G., & Olsen, J. P. (1989). *Rediscovering institutions: The organizational basis of politics*. New York: Free Press.
- Martens, K., Knodel, P., & Windzio, M. (2014). *Internationalization of education policy: A new constellation of statehood in education?*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Moravcsik, A. (1998). *The choice for Europe: Social purpose and state power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Moravcsik, A. (2005). The European constitutional compromise and the neofunctionalist legacy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12, 349–389.
- Neave, G. (2003a). On the return from Babylon: A long voyage around history, ideology and systems change. In J. File & L. Geodegebuure (Eds.), *Reflections on higher education in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia*. Twente: CHEPS (Center for Higher Education Policy Studies).
- Neave, G. (2003b). The Bologna Declaration: Some of the historic dilemmas posed by the reconstruction of the community in Europe's systems of higher education. *Educational Policy*, 17, 141–164.
- Neave, G., & Maassen, P. (2007). The Bologna Process: An intergovernmental policy perspective. In P. Maassen & J. P. Olsen (Eds.), *University dynamics and European integration*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Nokkola, T. (2007). The Bologna Process and the role of higher education: Discursive construction of the European higher education area. In J. Enders & B. Jongbloed (Eds.), *Public-Private dynamics in higher education: Expectations, developments and outcomes* (pp. 221–245). Piscataway: Transaction.
- Olsen, J. P. (2009). Change and continuity: An institutional approach to institutions of democratic government. *European Political Science Review*, 1(1), 3–32.
- Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Pierson, P. (1996). The path to European integration: A historical institutionalist analysis. *Comparative Political Studies*, 29(2), 123–163.
- Regini, M. (2011). *European universities and the challenge of the market: A comparative analysis*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Risse, T. (2007). Social constructivism meets globalization. In A. Held & D. McGrew (Eds.), *Globalization theory: Approaches and controversies* (pp. 126–147). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Rosamond, B. (2002). Imagining the European economy: 'Competitiveness' and the social construction of 'Europe' as an economic space. *New Political Economy*, 7(2), 157–177.
- Schmidt, V. A. (2002). Europeanization and the mechanics of economic policy adjustment. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 9(6), 894–912.
- Schmidt, V. A. (2005, December). Democracy in Europe: The impact of European integration. *Perspectives on Politics*, 3(4), 761–779.

- Schmidt, V. A. (2009). The EU and its member states: From bottom up to top down. In D. Phinnemore & A. Warleigh-Lack (Eds.), *Reflections on European integration: 50 years of the treaty of Rome* (pp. 194–211). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Scott, P. (2002). Reflections on the reform of higher education in Central and Eastern Europe. *Higher Education in Europe*, 27(1/2), 137–152.
- Spring, J. (2009). *Globalization of education: An introduction*. New York: Routledge.
- Tyson, A. (2012, 2016). Acting Director for Strategy and Evaluation, Former Head of Unit C1, Higher Education and Erasmus, Directorate-General Education and Culture, European Commission; April 25, 2012; September 6, 2016.
- Veiga, A. (2010). The moment of truth? *European Journal of Education*, 47(3), 378–391.
- Veiga, A., & Amaral, A. (2006). The open method of coordination and the implementation of the Bologna Process. *Tertiary Education and Management*, 12, 283–295.

Author bio

Beverly Barrett, PhD, is an international policy specialist, educator, and researcher in higher education policy and international political economy. Presently she is the Master of Public Policy Administration (MPPA) Advisor at the University of St. Thomas in Houston, Texas, USA. With a focus on institutional change and public policy, she researches regional integration, economic development, governance, and international trade. She is author of *Globalization and Change in Higher Education: The Political Economy of Policy Reform in Europe*, about the Bologna Process with case studies of Portugal and Spain, published by Palgrave Macmillan.